The Farce of the London Conference.

SECOND EDITION

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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WHAT ARE ECONOMICS? A Study of the Question of Food, Drink, Etc.

Without food, drink, clothing, warmth and shelter we cannot exist; with a scarcity of these things we get an impoverished blood-stream and are liable to disease and epidemics. By continuing to live in this scarcity, we tend to die off, and leave the world to be run by a more vigorous race. So let us study economics.

Leaving on one side, for the present, the culture which distinguishes man from the beasts, we will consider the primitive needs of our bodies, without which we perish inevitably.

It is the business of every government to provide the necessaries of life for the population. The government which fails to do this goes under. During the last war, the Russian Czarist Government, the German and Austrian Imperial Governments failed to provide food for their people, therefore they went under. The people rose up and turned them out. By this act the people declared that they would rather risk being conquered by the enemy than starve; that they would even rather *be* conquered by the enemy than starve. Thus it will always be. The government which can get food for the people survives, the government which cannot get food for the people perishes. The government of the wicked despot on earth, *if it can feed the people* will survive just for so long. The government of the people themselves, *if it cannot feed the people*, is turned down, by the people themselves. The Paris Commune perished fifty years ago, because it could not feed the people. That, comrades, is the reason that the capitalist countries of the world have been blockading Soviet Russia. They hoped that her people would starve, for they knew that if this were the case, the Russian people themselves would have turned out the Bolsheviks and tried another form of government.

They did not succeed in starving Russia. There was an inviolable law against it. The Law of Progress. Russia has adopted a new form of government, a form of government which provides for its people; a form of government which, as time goes on, provides more and more for its people, tending thereby to make them better and happier, while the capitalist countries with their more backward methods, are providing less and less for their people, are driving more and more people into unemployment. Russia, as we said just now, has a new form of government, the Soviet form of government, which produces for use and not for profit, so that everything which her workers produce is put to the very best advantages.

The Profit System.

Nowadays, we often hear the expression "Produce for use and not for profit." Let us apply that to our own homes, to the things of everyday life, and then we shall understand the *Profit System*.

The loaf on our table. Where do we get the bread?

At the Baker's.

Profit for the Baker:—

The Baker gets his profit out of wage-slaves, journeymen bakers, errand boys and other employees.

Where does the Baker get his flour?
From the Miller.

Profits for the Miller:—

The Miller gets his profits out of wage-slaves, people he employs in his mill and a carters.

Where does the Miller get his corn?
From the Farmer.

THE WORKER ALWAYS LOSES.

Profits for the Farmer:—

The farmer gets his profits out of the agricultural labourers.

Where does the Farmer get his land?
From the Landlord. *Profits for the Landlord.*

In this case, four sets of people have to get their profits, which they obtain from an army of wage-slaves; members of the working-class, who are one and all obliged to buy back loaves of bread at the baker's shop at a high price. *You* may be one of the wage-slaves in one of these concerns.

We will look at a few more of the articles in every-day use.

Let us take Tea. What is it made of?
Tea and Water.
Where do we get the Water?
From the tap—waterworks.

Profits for Shareholders:—

The profit is made from wage-slaves at the waterworks.

Tea is bought at the Grocer's.

Profits for the Grocer:—

The Grocer makes his profits from wage-slaves, the employees in his shop.

The Grocer purchases his tea from a Wholesale Importer.

Profits for the Importer:—

The Importer makes his profit from his wage-slaves.

The Importer buys his tea from the Tea Planter.

Profits for the Tea Planter:—

The Tea Planter makes his profit on wage-slaves, white or coloured.

The Tea Planter transports his tea to this country by ship.

Profits for the Shipping Company:—

The Shipping Company makes it profits out of wage-slaves—employees on board ship, and dockers.

Let us take a child's serge frock, consisting of woollen material, hooks and eyes, cotton—worked up by means of needles, scissors, etc. All these materials are bought at a Draper's shop.

Profits for the Draper:—

Profits obtained from wage-slaves, the employees—often in addition from profits, he makes by the living-in system, etc.

The Draper buys his goods at a Wholesaler's.

Profits for the Wholesaler:—

The Wholesaler makes his profits out of wage-slaves, employees and carters.

The Wholesaler buys his goods from various factories.

Profits for Factory Owners:—

These profits are obtained from the factory hands.

The Factory Owners buy their machinery and plant from other factories.

Profits for these Factories:—

Profits are obtained from wage-slaves—factory hands.

Factory Owners buy raw material from Farmers, Cotton Growers, etc.

Profit for Farmer, Cotton Grower, etc.:—

Profits are obtained from wage-slaves, white or coloured.

Draper, Wholesaler, Factory Owner, and Farmer either own their own premises or rent them from a Landlord. *Profit for the Landlord.*

At least seven profiteers have been getting money on this garment before it gets into your hands. At least seven sets of wage-slaves have been defrauded of their rights, of the real fruits of their labours. At least seven sets of workers are entitled to free clothing for their children and themselves. Do they get their rights? Under the profit-making system they can never get their rights; for instead of this, they are supporting a set of idle and useless people who are living in luxury and wasting the resources of the community.

Let us think of a house: It consists of bricks, mortar, timber, roofing—and—the ground on which it is built.

The land: Profits for the Landlord.

The house when completed:

Profits for the Contractor:—

These profits are got from wage-slaves, and by stinting the material.

Different materials:

BRICKS—

Profits for the Brick Merchant:—

These profits are got from wage-slaves in the brick-fields, carters, etc.

MORTAR—

Profits for the Lime Merchant:—

Obtained from wage-slaves at the lime kilns.

Profits for the Sand Pit Owner:—

Obtained from wage-slaves at the sand pits.

TIMBER—

Profits for the Timber Merchant:—

Profit is obtained from wage-slaves.

WINDOW FRAMES—

Profits for Frame Factory Owner:—

Extorted from his factory hands.

In the case of houses, these profiteers cannot get their profits unless they build expensive houses, which ordinary workers cannot live in. They do not tell us this outright, but they say that their different wage-slaves are asking such high wages that they cannot pay them. That is why we are going without houses; that is why people who fought for their country are being turned on to the street. Whereas, if the people who *built* the houses, the *workers*, could fix up with the workers who made the different materials, we should have streets of good houses in every town, and should have been well-housed long ago. The profit-making system in this way, not only sweats the workers, but it actually hinders production. If it does not "pay" an employer to undertake a certain work, he will not do it, no matter how much people are suffering from his decision.

This then, is the *profit system*, the *capitalist system* in our daily life, and as long as we can stand it, it will go on.

(To be continued).

COMMUNISM FOR CHILDREN. By L. A. MOTLER.

I am going to give you a few lessons on Communism. I must first of all tell you something about your life. You will have learnt at school how you live. It is by fresh air and food. These build up your body. You also have to wear clothes and boots.

Now, food and clothes and boots cost money. But you do not have to pay. Your parents find the money. Sometimes, of course, the father earns most of the money. He gets the money by working.

He is paid the money by the man for whom he works. If your father works in a factory, he is paid money by the man who owns that factory. Supposing your father makes clothes in the factory. Or suppose he makes boots. He gets paid for making so many boots or suits a week.

You know of some children who have very bad boots. And their father makes boots in a factory. Why cannot their father give them good boots?

Why a Worker does not own what he makes

It is because their father does not *own* the boots he makes. They belong to the man who owns the factory. If the father took some boots from the factory, you know, he would be locked up by the police.

Why do the boots belong to the man who owns the factory?

Well, as a rule, it is not always one man who owns a factory. Mostly, the factory is owned by a Company. This Company is made up of a lot of people who put their money together. All this money put together is used to buy leather and machinery, and to buy the factory.

The men who *work* in the factory are paid wages. For this money (wages) they make a certain number of boots every week. Of course, they make a lot more boots than they are paid for. A man may make about £20 worth of boots every week, but he does not get £20 in wages. He usually gets about £2.

This is:—

Boots made ...	£20	0	0
Wages paid ...	£2	0	0
	£18	0	0

And, as you see, it leaves £18 for the "owner" of the factory. It is used to pay rent for the factory, to pay taxes and rates, and to be divided amongst the people who form the Company.

What is Profit?

The £18 left over after paying the workman, is called *Profit*. I have shown you how it is used. The people who have put together their money to start the factory are called *Shareholders*. That means they hold shares in the Company.

The shareholders are paid so much money for every share they have got. Some hold only a few shares. Others have a great many. They do not do any work for the money. They are paid for lending their money. This is so because it is the *law of the land*.

A workman may, of course, have a share in the Company—that is if he can afford to buy a share. Nearly all their Saturday wages are gone by Monday.

And yet, I have shown that the workman *earns all the money*. You will say: "This is very unjust." So it is. But it is the law of the land.

The people who own the shares in the factory are paid for as long as they own a share. A person may have only a few shares worth a hundred pounds; but he will be paid so long as profits are made. In this way he may be paid altogether a thousand pounds. A workman is never paid more than his wages.

Can the Law be Changed?

The Law can be changed in only one way. What this way is, I will soon show you.

As I have already shown you, the boots are made only because they bring a profit. The boots are sold to people who have the money to buy them. If people in England cannot afford to buy boots, these boots are taken to some foreign country, and sold there.

That is because the boots are *private property*. That is to say, they belong to some person or persons. These persons can do as they like with the boots. They are their own property.

You will say this is unjust; but, as I said, it is the law of the land.

In order to change the law of the land, boots must be made *for use*. They must not be made simply to make a profit.

That means the boots must belong to *all the people*.

This is Communism!

Communism means that all things are owned *in common*. It does not mean boots only, but everything else.

What Communism does not Mean.

You will say: "But if we have Communism, that will mean that my boots do not belong to me. Some bad people will come and steal my boots."

That looks horrid, doesn't it? But I may ask you a question. Why should anyone steal boots? It is because they have no boots.

You will say: "But some people have boots; yet they steal other people's boots, so they can sell them." Well, when we have Communism, the boots will belong to *everybody*, won't they?

This means *anybody can have boots from the boot shop if they need them*. So if people steal boots to sell them, *who will buy?* If you could have boots for nothing, would you buy them?

What is true of boots is true of everything else. We shall have food and clothes and houses for nothing. We shall not have to pay for them. So we shall not have any wages. *Everything will be free.*

It will be nice to have everything free; but if people could have everything free, they would not work for it. Do you think so?

Work for Everybody.

You see, if nobody worked, there would be nothing. Food does not grow on trees; neither do boots. It is natural for people to find something to do. Nobody can live without work.

When we have Communism, work will be a great deal different from now. Why do we not have nice factories now? Why do we not have pretty trains and trams? Why do we not have beautiful houses?

It is because everything belongs to a few people. These people are rich. They are called capitalists. You will know later on why they are called capitalists. The workers do not own anything; so, of course, all their time is spent in working for the capitalists.

When a man has to work eight or ten hours a day for another person, he does not have much time for himself. So that is why we do not have beautiful things.

Also, the capitalists are in a hurry to make profits, so they cannot waste time on making beautiful things. There is not so much profit in beautiful things. They cost ever so much more to make.

Besides, the workers are common people. Anything plain is good enough for *them*.

What Communism is Exactly.

Let me put, in a few separate lines, what Communism means, then you will undestand more easily.

1.—The land will belong to everybody. Nobody made the land. *It has always been there.* It was there before the first man came. Everybody will then be able to grow food on the land. There is enough land in the British Isles to feed all the people on them. So everybody will have food.

2.—All the buildings on the land will belong to everybody. They were made by the workers; so it will not be robbing the rich people. Everybody will then have a house to live in.

3.—The railways, the canals, the docks—*everything* will belong to *all* the people.

4.—Everything will be free. Therefore there will be no money to be paid as wages. Nobody will want wages when they can have what they need for nothing. There will be no rent, no taxes, *no profits*.

5.—The people will then have all they need. They will have food, clothes, houses. Therefore, everybody will be happy.

How Can We Get Communism.

In order to get Communism, the people must act. That is to say, they must do something. They must take the land and everything on the on the land. They cannot do it every man by himself.

They must act together. They must form themselves into organisations. An organisation is like a cricket team. The boys get together to buy bats and balls and wickets.

The grown-ups are getting together into a Communist Party. When they are strong enough, they will be able to act together. The workers, all together, are stronger than the rich men. These rich men have made laws to protect themselves from the people. But the people are stronger when they are organised.

The young people must also get together. The country is now ruled by the rich. That is to say, all things are arranged by the few rich. They arrange things *to suit themselves*.

The workers are now getting together to change this. They are going to rule the country for themselves. The workers are nearly all the people; so the change of things will be good to more people. The young people can help in many ways.

If you are a young Communist, you can help to make other young people Communists too. You will all grow up one day; then you will take part in the big things of the world. You must get ready now, and you can get ready by joining a Young Communist League. Don't wait. Join now!

GETTING IT DONE.

Recently questions were asked in Parliament as to whether it was the fact that some miners were getting £1,000 a year. Answers were given to the effect that this was not so except in rare cases, but it was stated that quite a lot were getting over £500 a year.

Now this is not the lie it seems to be if one studies the wording of the answers given. The statement is usually made that the earnings are "at the rate of £500 a year," which is of course a different thing. But it is the lying camouflage whereby propaganda is made in order to prepare the public for a general cut in wages.

This is the sort of arithmetic the Middle Classes Union serves up. And the members of the M.C.U., scattered as they are in the "professions"—doctors, lawyers, teachers, magistrates—do their propaganda work only too well.

A "screever" was on trial not long ago for leaving his wife and children on the rates. An inspector stated that this street artist could earn two pounds on a fine day. And straight away the magistrate used the M.C.U. arithmetic to show that this meant an income of £600 a year! Which was more than overworked magistrates got, of course!

As if every day in this beautiful country, with its beautiful climate, was a fine day. And as if street artists never got the "pedlar" from over-zealous inspectors.

But what is £600 a year? Even the magistrate class would consider it very small beer, indeed. But whatever the worker gets he will never get enough, since prices are controlled by our kind masters who run industry for their own especial benefit. It is only when the workers control industry and run it for the benefit of all that the working-class will be at all well off. The revolution may indeed mean a little hardship and harder work for a short time, but in the end the working class will be in their true positions and with all the comforts of civilisation at their disposal, instead of these being the privilege of a few who sit in high places and by impudent arithmetic prove the workers to be living on huge salaries.

BUILDING UNIONS and EX-SOLDIERS.

In a recent issue the "Building News" comments on the question of the introduction of ex-Service men into house-building in view of the employers' new offer to the Government to take 50,000 into the industry.

"Nothing (it states) will be more disastrous than the stoppage that will follow a strike proclaimed by the building trades unions simply to keep the ex-Service men out of work. It would indeed be 'a sham and hypocrisy' if the Government hesitates in such a case to repeal the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 and pass a short Act providing for the same action as that taken by the French Government last autumn, when it soon broke the big labour strikes in France by imprisoning the agitators who fomented them against the interests of national necessity."

SOCIALISM IN DANGER. By DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

(First appeared in La Societe Nouvelle Revue Internationale, *June*, 1894).

Continued.

Liebknecht even speaks of the outgrowth of Socialist society. He now believes that it is possible to reach the solution of the social question by the way of reform. Are we to believe that the State, the existing State, can do this? Were Marx and Engels in error when they taught "that the State is the organisation of the possessing classes the effect the complete subjection of the non-possessing classes?" Was Marx mistaken when he said "that the State, in order to abolish pauperism, must abolish itself, for the kernel of the evil lies in the very existence of the State"? And Kautsky controverted the opinion of Liebknecht when he wrote in the *Neue Zeit*:—

"Political power, so called, is the force organised by one class to oppress another (*Manifeste Communiste*). A class State to characterise the existing State, appears to us an inappropriate name. Can there be any other State? You may answer: 'The democratic State (*Volksstaat*).' By that is meant the State conquered by the proletariat. But that also would be a class State. The proletariat would have other classes in subjection. The great difference between the future State and the existing States will consist in this: The interest of the proletariat demands the abolition of all class distinctions."

Compare this quotation with those from Liebknecht and Bebel, and you will see that they flatly contradict each other. The latter are the essence of State Socialism against which Kaustky protests. We must choose between the two: *Either* we are working (as Bebel says) to get what we can in the way of reform, and to palliate as much as possible the evil conditions imposed upon the workers under the present social *régime* (and this constitutes practical politics), the policy by which the German Social Democratic Party obtains at the ballot box so great a number of votes; *or* we embrace the opinion that under existing social conditions, the situation of the proletariat cannot be appreciably improved. If we adopt the first hypothesis, we prolong the suffering of the workers, for all these palliatives have only the effect of re-invigorating the present society. Yet Bebel professes to recognise, so as not to run entirely out of gear with Engels, that in the last resort we must decide upon the abolition of the State, which in realiy "is merely an organisation to maintain the business of production and exchange on its present basis; in other words, an organisation which has nothing in common with the ideal State." As a fact, he practically works to consolidate the present State, while he declares as a matter of theory, that ultimately the State must be abolished. In such a position there is neither rhyme nor reason.

Bebel said in Parliament:—

"I am convinced that if existing society continues its evolution in peace, so that it shall reach the highest stage of development, it is quite possible that the change from the present social system into a Socialist society may also take place in peace and at no distant date; just as the French, in 1870, became Republicans and rid themselves of Napoleon, after he had been vanquished and made a prisoner at Sedan."

What meaning but one can we attach to that language: If everything comes off peaceably?

Let us nominate men fit to do their duty—that is the phrase used. As if it were men and not the system, that were at fault! Are we not obliged to breathe a tainted air when we enter a room where the atmosphere is impure? It is just as if he said: "I am convinced that if the birds do not fly away, we shall catch them." When . . . but that is just the difficulty. And such language is delusive, for it arouses among the workers an idea that indeed everything will take place peaceably, and once that idea takes root, the revolutionary character of the movement disappears.

Has not Frohme, a German Deputy, said that:

"He cannot in all conscience imagine that the German Social Democracy should wish to abolish the State?" We even read in the *Hamburger Echo*, of November 15th, 1890:—

"We tell the Chancellor frankly that he has no right to denounce Social Democrats as enemies of the State. We do not fight the State, but State institutions, and a social system which does not agree with the true idea of the State and of society and with their mission. It is we Social Democrats who wish to perpetuate the State in greatness and purity. That has really been our mission for more than a quarter of a century, and Chancellor Von Caprivi ought to know it. Only where there exists a true ideal of the State can there be a true affection for the State."

When we hear and read about "true Socialism" and a "true ideal of the State," there comes to our mind the old-time phrase "true Christianity." And the more's the pity that just as there have been twenty, aye a hundred "true Christianities," each of which excommunicated and excluded all others, so there are to-day twenty and more true Socialisms. We would long ago have liked to shut our eyes to this foolishness, but alas! it is impossible.

Not only can the State not be preserved, but on the advent of Socialism, it will show itself to be not worth preserving. No, this possibilist, opportunist, reforming, Parliamentary action is good for nothing, and simply stifles among the workers the revolutionary idea that Marx tried to instil into them.

Childishly we attribute to commonplace and corrupt persons and parties the result of the evolution of civilisation. What guarantees do we possess that politicians of our party will be better than their predecessors? Are they infallible? No. Others have been corrupted and so will ours be, because man is the product of circumstances and is moulded by the environment in which he lives.

Engels has commented so severely upon the practical policy of Parliaments, that we are at a loss to understand how he has come to approve the tactics of the German Social Democratic Party. Here is the opinion that he used to hold:—

"A kind of shopkeeper Socialism has its advocates in the Social Democratic Party, even among its Parliamentary representatives, and these advocates, while endorsing in a vague way some Socialistic principles, and granting grudgingly that the future belongs to collectivism, think that future is very far distant, not within measurable distance. They aim at patching up the present social system, and in default of doing anything better, they fling themselves with enthusiasm into the efforts of the reactionaries to promote the so-called 'raising of the working-classes.'"

That is exactly what we have been saying, In the distance the Parliamentarians speak about the abolition of private property; but coming to close quarters, they busy themselves with practical politics. It is really sad to find men like Liebknecht handling this rubbish. Listen to his words at the Paris International Congress of 1899:—

"Practical reforms, reforms to be had at once and of immediate utility, are first in our programme, and that is their place by right, as they are the recruiting inducements to enlist the proletariat in the Socialist Party and who clear the road for Socialism. Fancy Socialists as recruiting sergeants! Not so thought they who used these words: '*Whoever talks with the enemy, parleys with him; whoever parleys, bargains with him.*'"

In this way they slide down the slope of compromise, and at last they base the whole agitation on the solution of the land question, and formulate such blood-curdling reforms as those submitted to the Workers' Congress of Marseilles in 1892, among which may be named, with bated breath, the easy transference of small properties, readjustment of taxation, and farm labourers' allotments. A nice programme, certainly, just such a one as has been accepted by the Belgian Workers' Party; while the Swiss proletariat are to be endowed in the same handsome fashion. That is what they call practical Socialism!

THE END.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES. By A BOLSHEVIST.

The Industrial Outlook. Stunts from Helsingfors. National Secular Society.

Throughout the length and breadth of the Valley, the main topic among the workers generally is that of the recent termination of contracts which expire this week, at the various collieries. Mass meetings are being held to discuss the matter in readiness for the Conference on Thursday next.

The recent slump in industry is attributed by the men who read but very little of the Socialist, Communist or Labour organs, to the work of the extremists and agitators in the coalfield.

Friends, do not let the Capitalist Press control your brains in that particular manner, but join the movement in order to study the Marxian Theory of Economics, and to analyse the Economics of Capitalism, which degrades the human mind and makes slaves of the daughters of the working classes, physically and morally, and which sends them more and more down to the depths of degradation.

Unemployment, friends, is now being used as a weapon by the parasites of Society to force down your standard of living, and drive you back again into chattel slavery. A reduction in wages is the only solution, says the capitalist, in order that we, as parasites, may enjoy ourselves at Cannes, Monte Carlo and the South of Spain, at your very kind hospitality. The present system of society ought to be abolished, and it is up to us as workers to work for that goal, and let us unite in saying, "All Power to the Soviets."

Realising that the atrocity-mongering stunts which have been circulated time after time in the Capitalist Press will not bear fruit, the parasites are busy preparing a few more rumours about Soviet Russia, the latest being "Lenin and Trotsky in flight," "White troops occupy Petrograd," etc. These were the headlines of various papers last Thursday evening. This is the type of propaganda indulged in by the puppets of Capitalism in order to stultify the weak brains which exist among a few of the workers of Ogmore Valley at the present time.

The exposure of Scotland Yard's secret service in regard to "Pravda," the official organ of the Soviet Government of Russia, by the "Herald" of last Thursday, has started to make the workers think. With the recent Labour Conference on unemployment, which resulted in doing simply nothing, but passing pious resolutions, and hot air, with the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas in supreme command, the workers are becoming class-conscious, and are closely watching the official Labour leaders also. Thus the workers are at last, in some respects, setting to think.

On Sunday, February 27th, a few comrades arranged to cross the mountain to Ton-Pentre, for the purpose of hearing Mr. Chapman Cohen, Editor of "Freethinker," the paper the religious world simply dreads for its outspoken views. The subject in the afternoon was "Why men believe in God," which was delivered most brilliantly by an able scholar, and the applause was great, the address being very much appreciated by an attentive audience. In the evening a change of subject, "What is the use of Christianity?" which was delivered in a most remarkable manner, the lecturer handling his subject brilliantly. In reply to a question by a certain minister, Mr. Cohen replied: "When geologists failed to discover a certain thing in geology, they attributed it to a divine being, but as soon as it was discovered, God went out of existence. And so with other departments in science, such as astronomy, biology, etc.. ; also that bishops and divines of to-day admit that the weather is governed by natural forces, and not as used to be the case by a supreme being. Admitting all these things," says Mr. Cohen, "God has nothing whatever to do, and the only reason for his existence is, that he must be one of the 'unemployed,'" a most brilliant answer. The lectures in all gave Christians food for thought.

Workers' Dreadnought

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RELEASE THE PRISONERS.

On Sunday, March 20th, a meeting will take place in Trafalgar Square, called by the Communist Party, to demand the release of our Political Prisoners.

The list, to-day, stands as follows:—

SYLVIA PANKHURST	Six Months.
C. L. MALONE	Six Months.
E. WELTHEIM	Six Months.
TAYLOR	Six Months.
SCOTT	Six Months.
PETERSON	Six Months.
STEELE	Three Months.
HARVEY	Three Months.
WEBB	Three Months.
GALLACHER	Three Months.

In addition to these, the following Comrades are under arrest:—

H. M. EMERY
GUY ALDRED
D. McLEISH
JANET PATRICK
ANDREW FLEMING.

NEWS OF OUR EDITOR.

Comrade Pankhurst was visited last Saturday at Holloway Prison by three friends.

She is in an Infirmary cell, and looks somewhat paler, but is as keen and interested as ever concerning the Movement.

She sends greetings to all her friends and especially to the Poplar girls.

THE DIPLOMATIC FARCE.

The London Conference called to settle the question of reparations to be obtained from Germany, ended, as it was to be anticipated, in a farce. Its conclusions could have been forseen weeks ago.

The vicious circle of capitalist production keeps both the Allies and Germany in its grip.

The Versailles Treaty, which was based on the hypothesis that the United States—now standing aloof—would aid in its enforcement and which itself already broke all the Armistice agreements, is now a dead letter. Reparations—by Germany—are as distant as ever.

The basic fact to be remembered is that the Great War was ended by the Russian Revolution, by an almost equal exhaustion on both belligerent sides, and by the belief that the Wilsonian conditions would be adhered to. Militarist Germany is defeated, but Capitalist Germany is not vanquished. Victorious France has bought her victory very dearly.

The German offer, at the London Conference, although emanating from a Government that would not hesitate to use violence and crush in blood the workers of its own nation, had elements of honesty in it. The reparation of the devastated French Provinces, with German labour and German capital, was a sound economic proposal.

Germany can only pay in two ways: by producing more, by exporting more; by, in other words, restoring herself to that foremost industrial position she held before 1914. Yet England went to war for the specific purpose of destroying her commercial rival.

Germany can also pay by increased taxation; by reducing still further the German workers' standard of life, producing cheaply and dumping her goods in England and France. France, in the main, still a nation of small peasantry, might gain by the restored German activity; England, pre-eminently industrial, would lose.

Wages in Germany have increased 14 times above pre-war standard. The cost of food and of clothing has increased 20 times. There is unemployment, there are lock-outs. The German workers, all things considered, have exactly one fourth of the means of earning a living that they had before the war. It means that their consumption has to be cut down to one-fourth of the pre-war standard, or the working day must be lengthened to a day of 14 hours.

The *Rote Fahne* of the German Communist Party says that last Sunday, demonstrations took place all over the country against the London Conference, and adds:—

> "In a few days, the situation may become critical and may lead the German proletariat to make use of all its revolutionary forces."

Aristide Briand, the former Socialist, who had advocated the General Strike, and who for five years signed his membership card to the French Socialist Party where it is said: "Ours is a Party of the class-struggle and of the revolution," and who headed the French delegation, is now a willing tool in the hands of French Imperialism and French Capitalism.

He had to impose the will of his masters upon the Conference since he did not dare to return to Paris empty-handed, and did not wish to resign from office. It almost seems that simply in order that Briand remains in power, Europe, many months after the Armistice, is to be kept in a state of suspense and turmoil. In London he was willingly listened to by Lloyd George who is ever prompt to follow a reactionary lead, even though the *Daily Herald* is always at hand, ready to whitewash him.

The increased Army of Occupation on the Rhine will form a force of no mean importance which may be used—as it has been used before by the French—to hold down the German workers, and also might be used, should the occasion present itself, against Soviet Russia.

The war that was to have ended all wars, that was fought to make Democracy secure, appears but to have prepared the ground for many others—if we workers are still willing and gullible.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Everybody is discussing unemployment and how to cure it, and endless palliatives are suggested, all of them quite useless, because they are palliatives only. There is one solution alone, and that is Communism, under which production will be for use and not for profit; every member of the community helping to produce, and sharing equally in the results. But those who are working to bring about this solution are being imprisoned by the Government which shows that it does not desire unemployment put an end to. Under the capitalist system there always has been and always will be unemployment in a varying degree, the imperialist war and the greed of the employers having made it more acute at the present time than ever before.

The following letter to *The Times* from Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, shows the evil results from doles, and is a vindication of Communism, although he probably has not realised it:—

DOLES AND NATIONAL HEALTH.
LIVING ON CAPITAL.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

Sir,—May I be permitted to make a few remarks on the all-important question of unemployment, and point out some of the effects which the unemployment doles will have on the future mortality of the race?

When I was in Tasmania some years ago, Mr. R. M. Johnson (head of the Tasmanian Statistical Department) and I made exhaustive investigations extending over a period from 1870 to 1910. We then found that the amount of capital required to support each individual for an average lifetime was £1,500. We also found that if production during 10 years were increased by 5 per cent., 10 years later there would be a corresponding increase in population of one person in 1,150, and vice versa, should there be a drop of 5 per cent. in production, there would be a corresponding increase in the death-rate later of one in 1,150.

Let us take the unemployment dole of 20s. per week. I see it is estimated that in four months this will amount to £45,000,000, and as there will be no corresponding result either in increase of capital or production, it will and must produce under normal conditions during the next 20 years an increased mortality of 30,000 persons, whose lives might have been saved if this sum had been expended on production or invested in capital to provide future means of life and subsistence. We can only live on what has already been produced, and our children will only be able to live on the work we do. If we reduce our capital to-day, we must reduce our population to-morrow.

Another evil that the doles will accentuate is the increase in the number of unemployables. It only takes a few months or years to turn a bad act into a bad habit. One cannot expect people to work if it becomes possible for them to live without work. If such an artificial state is created, it will not be long before there exists a large section of the community to whom work will become intolerable and impossible.

Let those who wish to put an end once and for all to unemployment and all its attendant ills, join the Communist Party and devote all their energies to establishing a Communist Commonwealth.

RUSSIAN FAIRY TALES.

Rosta reveals the source from which the "lies of Moscow Strike" originated. The Lettish Telegraph Agency, which, with the Lettish Mission in Moscow, has the use of the direct Government wires, reported on February 26th a strike of 14,000 workers in Moscow, which led to an agitation in the streets, the soldiers refusing to fire on the workers, and Communist detachments were called up, fired on the people and wounded many of them. An armed rising ensued, Government offices moved to Petrograd, etc., etc.

The Soviet representative in Riga received the following reply from Tchitcherin to his enquiries:

> "Report of Lettish Telegraph Agency is an absolute lie. The following are the facts of the situation:
>
> The workers of the State Printing House receive daily, besides the ration of 1½ lbs. of bread, an issue of flour. As a result of a temporary transport difficulty, this issue had to be discontinued. The workers, at once, were disatisfied with this, and proposed to the workers of the other factories to present a demand concerning the food rations. The proposal was not accepted by the other workers, who declared themselves satisfied with the explanation given. The Communists were not mobilised. The same evening a meeting took place in the Chamnoviki factory, in which the attitude of the printing workers was most strongly condemned.
>
> The Russian Government will investigate this matter, because telegrams cannot be dispatched without the supervision of the Lettish Ambassador in Moscow."

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—12.

"REVOLUTIONS ARE NOT MADE
BY PERMISSION
OF THE GOVERNMENT."
—LIEBKNECHT.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD

Outside Holloway Gaol,

EVERY SUNDAY AT 4 p.m.
Followed by a meeting outside

Pentonville Prison.

Come and cheer our Comrades Pankhurst and Malone.

TACTICS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED. By H. M. EMERY.

Organisation of Committee. Finance. Meeting Place. Board of Guardians. Mass Meetings. Propaganda.

Amongst the many questions we receive are such elementary ones as "What is the best way of calling a mass meeting of unemployed?" It is with a view to answering such questions that this article is written.

The reader wants to get a move on in his town or district. Then look round for likely support, approach a few of like mind, get them together and discuss ways and means. It does not matter if there are only three of you: it is your duty to attempt something. Your first consideration will be how to get the unemployed together, and time and place of meeting. Note the day on which there is the greatest attendance at the Labour Exchange, let that be your day for advertising the meeting. Note the day when the Labour Exchange pays out, and *avoid* that day as a day for the meeting. If there is a large Trade Union hall centrally situated, or near the Labour Exchange, try to get that. Failing a good-sized hall, use your Market Place, or other place where open-air meetings are held.

Having decided on the day and place for your first meeting, you must see that it is well advertised beforehand. Ask the manager of the local Labour Exchange to allow you to exhibit a large notice in a prominent place; failing that, some of you must arrange to stand outside the Labour Exchange with placards. An effective way is for six of you to parade with placards. Cards for these can be bought at a printer's, about 20in. by 30 in., for 2d. or 3d. each. (The kind of card they cut up for meeting tickets.)

A pot of ink and a brush complete your outfit. If there is a "wood butcher" amongst you he can for a few pence make frames from laths, to which the cards can be fixed, and, if you like, nailed on poles for carrying. Also remember the uses of chalk for advertising.

Supposing you have advertised well and have a good meeting, one of you will act as chairman and one or two as speakers. Your chairman can draw attention to the fact that the meeting has been called to initiate a movement for organising the unemployed. Your speakers will state that nothing can be done without organisation, and move that a committee be elected there and then. They should point out that the cause of unemployment can only be removed by removing Capitalism, but that they are ready to help the workers to obtain relief, as they have done in other places, believing that we can fight better on full than empty stomachs. A firm stand should be made from the outset concerning the real cause and the only cure for unemployment, but in such a way as not to preclude the need for organising as unemployed to make the boss class keep us if it will not let us use the tools of production.

Having got your committee elected (it should be made plain that committeemen are subject to recall at any mass meeting), the chairman should announce that the committee will meet (this afternoon), and report to a further mass meeting which will be held at the same time and place as this (to-morrow).

Arrangements should be made previously, if possible, for a room for the committee to meet in. Most labour bodies will lend a small room free for a weekly committee meeting.

The Stern Rule of Labour—Dedicated to our "Social Investigators."
[From the *Liberator*.

The mass meeting should of course be conducted in a proper manner, resolutions and amendments taken and discussion allowed; it will give confidence to all concerned.

Having got so far, the committee will perhaps welcome suggestions based upon experience as well as theory.

Elect Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. Sub-committees and deputations will be elected as the need arises. There should be standing deputations to Local Authorities, Boards of Guardians and Labour Exchange.

It should be on Standing Orders that no one member of committee interview alone anyone on behalf of the committee.

Deputation work should be distributed, and a list kept, and made known so that unemployed workers will know exactly to whom they can take complaints. No deputation should take up a complaint until the matter has been passed by committee and, if necessary, the person desiring the deputations' services has been before the committee.

Minutes of meetings should be taken and read out at mass meetings in a proper manner.

I must lay it down as an essential that the committee has no fund but a propaganda fund. No attempt should be made to set up relief funds, and the committee must resolutely refuse to share in administration of relief work, Mayor's funds, etc. They can advise the unemployed to accept all they can get from any source, but, as a committee they must be out only to teach the workers the cause of and cure for unemployment, and to force the authorities, representing the boss class, to feed and clothe the unemployed.

Once a committee touches relief funds, etc., a rot will set in, and jealousy and charges of favouritism will allow the agents of the Capitalist to divide the unemployed and break your movement as a fighting force.

A firm but civil deputation to the Mayor should secure the free use of a hall twice a week. If it does not, then you must meet in the open if necessary, until your activities compel the authorities to see the force behind you and induce them to change their mind.

The outdoor relief to be obtained from the above should be exploited to the fullest extent. The workers should be urged to demand the same relief, under the same conditions, as is given by the Coventry Board of Guardians, which includes not only food but cash for rent, etc., the adoption of this tactic doing more than meets the eye.

Your own experience will guide you as to the conduct of your mass meetings. Local conditions vary. Usually twice a week will be best, with a committee meeting between. A brief outline of a Coventry unemployed meeting may be useful.

Chairman opens.

"Red" orchestra plays selection of good music.

Minutes of last mass meeting.

Minutes of committee meeting.

Correspondence.

Report of delegation from "Triumph" strike committee.

Report of deputation to Board of Guardians re increased relief and individual complaints.

Report of works-gate meetings held outside "Standard" and "Ordnance" works.

Announcements: Meeting at Coventry chain works to-morrow; Economic Class, Wednesday, 3 p.m.; Industrial History Class, Friday, 8 p.m.

Selection by orchestra.

Address by Comrade ——: "Trade Unions in Russia before and after the Revolution."

Questions; discussion.

Singing of the "Red Flag" or "Internationale," accompanied by orchestra, during which all stand—including the detectives.

Works-gate meetings: first, last, and always. Classes in Industrial History and Economics. Literature stall—not run by committee, but open to all Socialist bodies. Free leaflets, written by local men if possible, and issued by and under the name of the committee as a body.

Your power lies in your works-gate meetings, where you teach and appeal for *class solidarity*. "To the factories" is the only cry the capitalist fears. *Your first move must be there.* If you as a committee feel you can get an orderly march to a factory, then put it to your next mass meeting: Get a vote, and ask for a show of hands of all who will go. If you have any doubt as to its success, then it is better to arrange time and speakers and announce that a meeting will be held at such and such a works-gate, and appeal to the unemployed to turn up. March if you can, but do not risk a fiasco.

One last word, get on with the job. Risk mistakes and failure, you will learn from them. Remember it is your duty to your class to seize this opportunity to bring the workers together, to teach them to organise as a class, to teach them Marxian Economics.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Unemployed in Germany.

It is reported from Berlin that unemployment is increasing rapidly; 432,000 of the most needy cases are actually receiving out-of-work doles. It is estimated that some two million men are out of work. The German and Entente capitalists are combining to force the workers into the army to shoot down their own class.

Unrest in Hungary.

The buccaneering exploits of Horthy's thugs have succeeded in destroying what remained of the old civilisation in Hungary. The people, strong and desperate, are approaching a general strike. Six divisions of military have been called in to guard the factories. Yes, governments are against the workers all the time. What is the Allied Mission doing?

Unrest in Czecho-Slovakia.

Unrest still continues in this ill-fated country. The iron workers at Krompech have been beaten down by the police; two workmen have been killed and seventeen wounded. No doubt the secret service of the combined Robbers of Europe is preparing some propaganda to induce people who are suffering in this way to turn against their Russian comrades, who are trying to make a better place of this ill-fated planet.

War Preparations of the Reactionaries.

It is reported from Warsaw that preparations on a large scale are being made at Constantinople to receive 40,000 English, 12,000 French, and 12,000 Italian soldiers. NOW we know that this unemployment is a put-up job to force workers back to the Army. The Middle Classes Union is protesting against raising the local rates. Not a word against Churchill's war mania.

Strike Move in Italy.

In Milan the telegraph officials are still on strike, though in a government office! The prison officers are threatening a strike.

The delegates of more than 25,000 metal workers in eighty factories have decided to reconstruct their unions, and have referred back to the branches the consideration of affiliation with the Third International.

The delegates of about 10,000 chemical workers in Milan have declared themselves members of the Communist Party.

The price of bread is rising in Italy, in order that the Italian workers by this means may contribute six milliard lire to the budget.

We do not notice that the big Italian capitalists are about to pay a capital levy—neither do our own big business men. They prefer indirect taxation ON THE WORKERS' FOOD.

The Workers of Korea Get a Move on.

The workers of the town of Seul have driven out the reformists from their unions. These "backward" people are giving us a lead. We wonder how they would deal with Messrs. Thomas, Clynes, Macdonald, and Snowden. But then, of course, they have not tasted the joys of democracy as our English workers have—or, perhaps, they realise that Reform is the specific poison of Socialism.

Social Democrats and their Ways.

"Hitherto the rise of prices is unavoidable, in order to cover the expenses of the State; we must bear it as best we can, taking it as a matter of course."

Thus says the "Arbeiter Zeitung," the Social-Democratic organ—the organ of that party which consented in Austria to the workers' income-tax, to the raising of gas, electricity, postage and tramways. This is the party whose pals in this country bid us send Labour Members to Parliament and the municipal councils. It bodes ill for a working class when it is represented by such traitors. Yet progress is there, both in Germany and in this country. Communist spirits are putting life into the dead bones of trade unionism.

We remember being present at a Labour fakirs' meeting when a nice hue and cry was being raised on the question of the precarious state of international high finance. These men had caught the capitalist outlook, and were tied up to the old money-credit system. Up got a bottom dog, though the authorities wanted to close down the meeting so that the caretaker could go home to tea. But the said bottom dog was irrepressible, and declared that as a working man he was not concerned with high finance. That man had caught the new Communist spirit. There are many such in England and Germany. We need them. Trade Unionism of the old type is very tough in these two countries. Our German comrades are making a firm stand in their unions, and are being attacked on all sides by the old gang. Our turn will come soon. Fakirs are international.

Mr. Bonar Law, speaking at Leeds on February 24th, said "there was very little spirit of revolution in this country." Workers, what do you say?

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

By HERMAN GORTER.

I wish to draw your attention, Comrade Lenin, and that of the reader, to the fact that this letter was written at the time of the triumphant march of the Russians to Warsaw.

I likewise request you, and the reader, to excuse the frequent repetitions. They were unavoidable, owing to the fact that in most countries the workers still ignore the tactics of the "Left Wing."—H.G.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I have read your brochure on the Radicalism in the Communist movement. It has taught me a great deal, as all your writings have done. For this I feel grateful to you, and doubtless many other comrades feel as I do. Many a trace, and many a germ of this infant disease, to which without a doubt, I also am a victim, has been chased away by your brochure, or will yet be eradicated by it. Your observations about the confusion the revolution has caused in many brains, is quite right too. I know that. The revolution came so suddenly, and in a way so utterly different from what we expected. Your words will be an incentive to me, once again, and to an even greater extent than before, to base my judgment in all matters of tactics, also in the revolution, exclusively on reality, on the actual class-relations, as they manifest themselves politically and economically.

After having read your brochure, I thought all this is right.

But after having considered for a long time whether now I would cease to uphold this "Left Wing," and to write articles for the K.A.P.D. and the opposition party in England, I had to decline.

Basis Mistaken.

This seems contradictory. It is due, though, to the fact that the starting-point in the brochure is not right. To my idea you are mistaken in your judgment regarding the analogy of the West-European revolution with the Russian one, regarding the conditions of the West-European revolution, that is to say the class-relations—and this leads you to mistake the cause, from which this Left Wing, the opposition, originates.

Therefore the brochure SEEMS to be right, as long as your starting-point is assumed. If, however (as it should be), your starting point is rejected, *the entire brochure is wrong*. As all your mistaken, and partly mistaken judgments converge in your condemnation of the Left movement, especially in Germany and England, and as I firmly intend to defend those of the Left Wing, although, as the leaders know, I do not agree with them on all points, I imagine I had best answer your brochure by a defence of the Left Wing. This will enable me not only to point out its origin (the cause from which it springs), and to prove its right, and merits, in the present stage, and here, in Western Europe, but also, which is of equal importance, *to combat the mistaken conceptions that are prevalent in Russia with regard to the West-European Revolution.*

Both these points are of importance, as it is on the conception of the West-European revolution that the West-European as well as the Russian tactics depend.

I should have liked to do this at the Moscow Congress, which, however, I was not able to attend.

Two Arguments Refuted.

In the first place I must refute two of your arguments, that may mislead the judgment of comrades or readers. You scoff and sneer at the ridiculous and childish nonsense of the struggle in Germany, at the "dictatorship of the leaders or of the masses," at "from above or below," etc. We quite agree with you, that these should be no questions at all. But we do not agree with your scoffing. For that is the pity of it: in Western-Europe they still are questions. In Western Europe we still have, in many countries, leaders of the type of the Second International; here we are still seeking the right leaders, those that *do not try to dominate the masses*, that do not betray them; and as long as we do not find those, we want to do all things from below, and through the dictatorship of the masses themselves. If I have a mountain-guide, and he should lead me into the abyss, I prefer to do without him. As soon as we have found the right guides, we will stop this searching. Then mass and leader will be really one. This, and nothing else, is what the German and English Left Wing, what we ourselves, mean by these words.*

And the same holds good for youn second remark, that the leader should form one united whole with class and mass. We quite agree with you. But the question is to find and reaf readers that are really one with the masses. This can only be accomplished by the masses, the political parties and the Trade Unions, by means of the most severe struggle, also inwardly. And the same holds good for the iron discipline, and the strong centralisation. We want them all right, but not until we have the right leaders. This severest of all struggles, which is now being fought most strenuously in Germany and England, the two countries where Communism is nearest to its realisation, can only be harmed by your scoffing. Your attitude panders to the opportunist elements in the Third International. By thus scoffing, you abet the opportunist elements in the Third International. For it is one of the means by which elements in the Spartacus League and in the B.S.P., and also in the Communist Parties in many other countries, imposes upon the workers, when they say that the entire question of mass and leader is absurd, is "nonsense and childishness." Through this phrase they avoid, and wish to avoid, all criticism of themselves, the leaders. It is by means of this phrase of an iron discipline and centralisation, that they crush the opposition. And this opportunism is abetted by you.

You should not do this, Comrade. We are only in the introductory stage yet, here in Western Europe. And in that stage it is better to encourage the fighters than the rulers.

I only touch upon this quite perfunctorily here. In the course of this writing I will deal with this matter more at length. There is a deeper reason yet why I cannot agree with your brochure. It is the following:—

Difference between Russia and W. Europe.

On reading your pamphlets, brochures and books, nearly all of which writings filled us with admiration and approbation, we Marxists of Western Europe invariably came to a point where we suddenly grew wary, and on the look-out for a more detailed explanation; and if we failed to find this explanation, we accepted the statement but grudgingly, with all due reservations. This was your statement regarding the workers and the poor peasants. It occurs often, very often. And you always mention both these categories as revolutionary factors all the world over. And nowhere, at least as far as I have read, is there a clear and outspoken recognition of the immense difference which prevails in the matter between Russia (and a few other countries in Eastern Europe) and Western Europe (that is to say Germany, France, England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, and perhaps even Italy). And yet, in my opinion, the fundamental difference between your conception of the tactics concerning Trade Unionism and Parliamentarism, and that of the so-called Left Wing in Western Europe, lies mainly in this point.

Of course you know this difference as well as I do, only you failed to draw from it the conclusions for the tactics in Western Europe, at least as far as I am able to judge from your works. These conclusions you have not taken into considerration, and consequently your judgment on these West-European tactics is false.**

And this is all the more dangerous, because this phrase of yours is parroted automatically in all Communist Parties of Western Europe, even by Marxists. To judge from all Communist papers, magazines and brochures, and from all public assemblies, one might even surmise that a revolt of the poor peasants in Western Europe might break out at any moment! Nowhere is the great difference with Russia pointed out, and thus the judgment, also of the proletariat, is led astray. Because in Russia you disposed of a huge class of poor peasants, through the help of which you triumphed, you represent things in such a way, as if we in Western Europe are also going to have that help. Because you, in Russia, have triumphed exclusively through this help, you wish to make us believe that here also we will triumph through this help. You do this by means of your silence with regard to this question, as it stands in Western Europe, and your entire tactics are based on this representation.

Poor Peasants Decisive Factor.

This representation, however, is not the truth. There is an enormous difference between Russia and Western Europe. In general the importance of the poor peasants as a revolutionary factor decreases from east to west. In some parts of Asia, China, and India, in the case of a revolution, this class would be the absolutely decisive factor; in Russia it constitutes an indispensable and, indeed, one of the main factors; in Poland, and in a few states of South-Eastern and Central Europe, it is still of importance for the revolution, but further West its attitude grows ever more antagonistic towards the revolution.

Russia had an industrial proletariat of some seven or eight millions. The number of poor peasants, however, amounted to about 25 millions. (I beg you to excuse eventual mistakes in the numbers; I have to cite from memory, as this letter should be despatched with all speed). When Kerensky failed to give these poor peasants the soil, you knew that before long they would come to you, the minute they should become aware of the fact. This is not so in Western Europe, and will not be so either; in the countries of Western Europe, which I have named, conditions of that sort do not exist.

The poor peasant here lives under conditions quite different from those of Russia. Though often terrible, they are not so appalling as they were there. As farmers or owners, the poor peasants possess a piece of land. The excellent means of transport enables them often to sell their goods. At the very worst they can mostly provide their own food. During the last ten years things have improved somewhat for them. Now, during and since the war, they can obtain high prices. They are indispensable, the import of foodstuffs being very limited. Regularly, therefore, they will be able to make high prices. They are supported by Capitalism. Capitalism will maintain them, as long as it can maintain itself. In your country the position of the poor peasants was far more terrible. With you, therefore, the poor peasants had a political, revolutionary programme, and were organised in a political, revolutionary party: with the social-revolutionaries. With us this is nowhere the case. Moreover, in Russia there was an enormous amount of landed property to be divided, large estates, crown lands, government land, and the estates held by the monasteries. But the Communists of Western Europe, what can they offer to the poor peasants, to win them to their side?

Nothing to offer Peasants.

Germany counted, before the war, from four to five million poor peasants (up to two hectares). Only eight or nine millions, however, were employed in actual large-scale industries (over 100 hectares). If the Communists were to divide all of these, the poor peasants would still be poor peasants, as the seven or eight million field-labourers also claim their share. And they cannot even divide them, as they will use them as large-scale industries.†

These numbers show that in Western Europe there are comparatively few poor peasants; that, therefore, the auxiliary forces, if there were any at all, would be very few in numbers.

The Communists in Germany, therefore, except in relatively insignificant regions, do not even dispose of the means to win the poor peasants. For the medium and small industries will surely not be expropriated. And it is practically the same in the case of the four or five million poor peasants in France, and also for Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and two of the Scandinavian countries.‡ Everywhere the small and medium industry prevails. And even in Italy there is no absolute certainty; not to mention England, which counts only some one or two hundred thousand peasants.

Neither will they be attracted by the promise that under Communism they will be exempt from rent-paying and mortgage-rent. For with Communism they see the approach of civil war, the loss of markets, and general destruction.

Unless, therefore, there should come a crisis far more terrible than the present one in Germany, a crisis, indeed, far exceeding the horrors of any other crises that ever were before, the poor peasants in Western Europe will side with Capitalism, as long as it has any life left.††

Industrialists stand alone.

The workers in Western Europe stand all alone. Only a very slight portion of the lower middle-class will help them. And these are of no significance economically. The workers will have to make the revolution all by themselves. Here is the great difference as compared to Russia.

Possibly you will say, Comrade Lenin, that this was the case in Russia. There also the proletariat has made the revolution all by itself. It is only after the revolution that the poor peasants joined. You are right, and yet the difference is immense.

You knew with absolute certainty that the peasants would come to you, and that they would come quickly. You knew that Kerensky would not, and could not give them the soil. You knew that they would not help Kerensky long. You had a magic charm, "The Soil to the Peasants," by means of which you would win them in the course of a few months to the side of the proletariat. We, on the other hand, are certain that for some time to come the poor peasants, all over Western Europe, will side with Capitalism.

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* Remark of the Editor: The K.A.P.D. wants more, to be sure. *It claims, ever more, urgently this*: "FROM BELOW."

** In "State and Revolution," for instance, you write (page 67): "The greatest majority of the peasantry in every capitalist country that has any peasantry at all, is oppressed by the government and is thirsting for the latter's overthrow, for a "cheap" government. The proletariat alone is called upon to carry this into execution. . . ." The trouble is, however, that the peasantry does *not* thirst for Communism.

† The Agrarian Theses of Moscow acknowledges this.

‡ I have no statistical data for Sweden and Spain.

†† In the brochure, "The World Revolution," I have emphatically pointed out this difference between Russia and Western Europe. The development of the German Revolution has proved that my judgment was even too optimistic. In Italy it is possible that the poor peasants will side with the proletariat.

To be continued.

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

That Higher Standard. Exploiting Apprentices. Dirty Work.

Negotiations have been proceeding between the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks and the Scottish National Co-operative Wages Board, and the matter was submitted to Arbitration. The award given by Sheriff Fyfe says :—

"Speaking generally, the outlook in an industrial Arbitration now is not what it once was, for ideas in regard to the remuneration of workers have greatly broadened. In the fixing of minimum rates of pay, the question no longer is, "How little can a worker be asked to accept for his services!" A wages claim, at the present day, is upon a broader human basis than it used to be. It is—to quote the words of Lord Shaw in the Dockers' Commission : "Based upon a broader appeal for a better standard of living, by which is not meant a right to have merely a subsistence allowance, in the sense of keeping the soul and body of the workers together ; but the right to have life ordered upon the higher standard, with full regard to those comforts and decencies which are promotive of better habits, which give a chance for the development of a greater sense of self-respect, and which betokens a higher regard for the place occupied by these workers in the scheme of citizenship."

* * * *

Sheriff Fyfe is beginning to learn something, apparently. He is beginning to see that after all workers are human beings ! What an extraordinary discovery ! This after 2,000 years of what is supposed to be the ideal religion—Christianity ! ! Just fancy, a worker really is entitled to something more than a subsistence allowance that will keep body and soul together. What a tremendous advance in thought. But does it not sound rather patronising to make a statement like the above ? To me it smacks of insolence and worse—tyranny. That a man—for, after all, the Sheriff is no more than a man—should be entitled to decide what the standard of living of other people shall be, seems to me to be an insult to my class. No doubt it is an advance on previous awards, but that is not the point. The point is this : Why in the name of all the gods there should be any class able to express through their representative what standard of living another class should enjoy—though "enjoy" is hardly the word ! Especially when the class dictated to are the people who do the work and produce the wealth. I should like to know where he got his ideas from when he began to consider what standard of living the workers referred to should have. Did he go to his own standard of living, and the standard of living of his own class? He and his class—if he is at all representative of that class—would have to include a great many things that the workers will not get. The annual two, three, or four months' holiday ; the costly apparel, the luxurious mansions, the immunity from anxiety as to the morrow's bread, the knowledge that if ill-health comes the best medical service will be at his service ; privileges innumerable—like that of enjoying the easiest method of acquiring a sound education, under the best conditions ; ability to live exactly where he likes ; to travel ; to have a comprehensive private library ; and the thousand and one luxuries and amenities that the workers are not supposed to want. A more human standard of living forsooth ! As a matter of fact, the wage which men of this class "award" the workers is relatively much smaller than the wage of two hundred years ago, for the productivity of industry is incalculably greater ; transport of wealth is a hundred times faster ; the resources of the whole world are now being tapped—and altogether the wealth produced by labour to-day would have been inconceivable to the workers of two hundred years ago. But the workers don't realise it yet. When they do, they will give up the idiotic habit of letting the drones decide how THEY should live. They will do it for themselves.

* * * *

A correspondent to the London "Typographical Journal" advocates a five-year apprenticeship instead of the present seven years. He maintains that now that the Education Act of 1918 is coming into operation, enabling youths to remain at school until sixteen years of age, the boy who is apprenticed to a trade for seven years will be placed at a disadvantage, coming out of his time two years later than the former apprentice and thus placing his parents also at a disadvantage. The employer, he claims, will benefit, not only by the difference in pay, but by the fact that his apprentice is better informed and more capable during the whole of his apprrénticeship. I think the writer is quite justified. Undoubtedly a seven years' apprenticeship is far too long, and will be especially long under the new conditions. In America and Canada printers only serve five years, and before the war, in Montreal, they started at £1 a week.

* * * *

There are other reasons why apprentices should not be compelled to stand at a case for seven years. Very often an apprentice comes out of his time only to find that he hates his trade, and the sooner he can get out in such a case the better. He can then try his hand at something else. This applies, of course, to all trades. A great need to-day is some method of preventing youths being apprenticed to the trade least suited to their ideas and temperament, and thus becoming misfits. Unfortunately, however, parents are generally compelled to put their children to the first thing that comes along, in order to help to eke out their father's wage. It is hardly to be expected, in a chaotic system of scramble like this, that more than a small majority should find themselves in the trade they would have chosen if the choice had been theirs. It is no wonder that in all unions there are to be found men who are constantly receiving assistance—lazy, inefficient men, who see that they get at least as much as they pay to the union. Such a system as this breeds incapable, vicious, selfish men at both ends of the social scale, and not till it is destroyed will there be a chance of producing a higher race.

* * * *

"Who are the farm workers who are 'paid out of reason'? A married ploughman near Dundee will get £120 a year, 65 stones of meal, half-gallon of milk a day, a load of potatoes, and a house. Say at present values, £160 a year all told. For that he puts in 50 hours a week producing meal, milk, beef and tatties. I don't know what the chap gets for doing a column in the 'Courier,' but the minimum wage for a man doing that kind of thing is probably over £260 a year. Think of getting £260 a year for talking tripe about the wages of a man who is doing useful work at £160 a year. The fellow who is spreading himself over a column with that kind of stuff knows it is tripe. It's a dirty way of getting a living. . . All your newspapers are written in the same way. It's a dirty way of getting a living. It's a mean way to get money to try and spoil another man's living. Driving out dung at £160 a year is a clean job compared with filling columns with muck."—"FLAIL," in *The Scottish Farm Servant*.

* * * *

Good ! But as long as the workers persist in the foolish habit of saying, when one discusses the waste of time and energy, and the vile work of the Capitalist Press, "But it all means print," there will be little chance of getting a clean Press. Members of the London Society of Compositors are very fond of saying this. To this degraded type of mind it matters little what foul lies are printed—whether in the form of advertisements, news, books or magazines. "It is all print," they say. The idea of a society where it would be possible for men to live in comfort without having to depend on unnecessary and positively harmful labour never enters their thick heads. If one tells them that the vast proportion of the "print" that is published to-day is an absolute loss to the nation in material, time and energy—not to mention the harm it does—they stand aghast, and imagine that if such waste were abolished they would starve. Surely it is plain that if all the advertisement writers, printers, compositors, bill-stickers, journalists, and thousands of other kindred workers now engaged to perform work that is both unnecessary and harmful were put to some productive and necessary work, even with much shorter hours, the nation would be much richer. But a system in which this would be possible needs common sense, reason, and justice—and those things are foreign to the Capitalist system.

MORE COMMUNISTS ARRESTED.

On March 3rd, H. M. Emery, Chairman of the Communist Party in Coventry and leader of the Unemployed, was arrested on leaving a meeting of the unemployed and has been taken to Birmingham. He has been remanded on bail until March 11th.

Guy Aldred, Editor of "The Spur," was arrested on March 2nd in connection with the publication of an article in the "Red Commune." Andrew Fleming, printer, and Douglas McLeish and Jane Hamilton Patrick, alleged to be the joint authors of the offending article, are on trial in Glasgow for sedition. The police allege that the article is calculated "to excite popular dissatisfaction, commotion and violence to popular authority." If the authority is "popular," surely this cannot be the case !

On Monday they appeared for a declaration before the Sheriff, and were committed for further inquiry. Bail was refused, and all four were returned to prison.

On February 25th Comrade Gallacher was sentenced to three months in the Second Division for making a seditious speech. His trial had been postponed, as the authorities were anxious to try Leckie, who spoke at the same meeting, with him, but so far Leckie has managed to elude them.

And yet Mr. Shortt has the effrontery to state in the House of Commons that no person has been charged with advocating Communist opinions, and none are in prison. Of course the charge brought against Communists is not ostensibly for advocating Communist opinions, but in reality it is for nothing else, though camouflaged under the name of sedition.

WOMEN POLICE AS DETECTIVES.

In the Blue Book containing the minutes of evidence given before the committee on the employment of women on police duties, Sir Nevil Macready said : "I want to have the woman I can put into an evening dress, with some diamonds or whatever she wears, and send to a place to mix with people ; and I also want women at the other end of the scale."

WHY COST OF LIVING IS HIGH.

The financial columns of "The Times" are very interesting reading, especially when they contain the annual reports of some of the big companies. This week-end we have Selfridges ; Vyse, Sons, and Co. ; some railway companies, and the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom.

Selfridge and Co., Ltd., started twelve years ago, and their net profits have increased from £6,102 in the first year to £375,031 last year, which was a record year, despite the slump during the last few months. £435,000 has been set aside for excess profits duty, and large sums for depreciation, building new premises, etc. It is the consumer who pays for all this in the high prices charged.

Vyse, Sons, and Co., Ltd., wholesale milliners and furriers, have also had a record year, "showing a profit which was a substantial advance on any shown in pre-war years," and this despite the slump in trade. The Managing Director said : "The sooner business becomes normal the better it will be for everyone, but this will not be until labour conditions settle down and measures are taken to reduce the cost of production. I do not necessarily mean that this should necessitate the reduction of wages, but that the wages earned should bear a proper relation to efficiency and production."

Neither of these reports state what dividends they are paying, Workers. You will have to work harder and longer hours to produce bigger profits for your masters !

The chairman of the Railway Wagon and Carriage Co. stated that for the last 16 years a 15 per cent. dividend had been paid to the shareholders, and in 1915 and 1917 a distribution of bonus shares had been made, "SO THAT WITHIN THE LAST SIX YEARS YOU HAVE RECEIVED YOUR CAPITAL BACK AGAIN."

We should like to know what the workers received during the last sixteen years out of these profits ?

The Chairman also said that "during the last few months the wages bill has steadily increased, and with it the output." Does this mean that more workers are being employed, or are the wage-slaves toiling still harder to provide these dividends in which they do not share ?

Another interesting statement should be taken to heart by the miners and other workers : "The coal strike, holding up delivery of material, lost us eight working days, and the mere suspicion of a strike or threat of a strike in these days is quite sufficient to militate very adversely against any manufacturing concern."

Now we know the simplest way of touching the capitalist's pockets, and where they keep their hearts !

Sir Owen Philipps, in his presidential address to the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, said that "the former prosperity of British trade was built up on cheap coal, which is still the motive power of all industry, as no industry can be carried on without it." "One of the curses of the mining trade was the minimum wage. . . The time had come when wages must be reduced." You notice that there is no question of royalties being reduced ; it is only the worker who must pay. When an industry can give a dividend of 90 or even more per cent. there is no question of sharing it with the workers—it is only the reduction that falls upon them ; and yet the Chairman said "the world was not divided into two classes, capital and labour" ! !

A shareholder at the meeting of Bovrils, Ltd., said he would like to see an increase in the remuneration of the directors, who had worked so well for the company. Yes, the directors who attend a few meetings every year and who produce nothing can be paid more, but the workers who produce everything must be paid less. How long is this to continue ?

COURTAULD'S DIVIDEND.

With reference to a City Note recently on Courtaulds (textile manufacturers) dividend, it should be pointed out that only the final dividend of 6¼ per cent. is being paid on the present capital of £12,000,000, the interim dividend of 17½ per cent. being paid on the capital of £4,000,000. The dividend of 23¾ per cent. (tax free) for the year, therefore, is the equivalent of 36¼ per cent. on the capital as it existed before the last rearrangement, and of 72½ per cent. on the capital of £2,000,000 existing in 1919.

GLASGOW BECOMING CLASS-CONSCIOUS.

Glasgow has refused to entertain the Prince of Wales, when the Freedom of the City is conferred upon him, while there are so many starving people. The unemployed have been summoned to a demonstration at Glasgow Green "to welcome the Prince of Wales." What practical result do they expect from it ?

SOCIALIST PRINTERS ON STRIKE.

In Hungary the printers have been on strike against the White Terror, and no newspapers appeared, only a governmental bulletin. Even the clerical trade union officials were unable to restrain their followers from joining the ranks of the Socialist strikers. They demanded the release of their imprisoned leaders as a condition to any negotiations. Bravo Hungarian workers, you are showing your British brothers the way !

The Lisbon newspaper employees have also been on strike for six weeks.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

(A brief sketch of the organisation and the present situation of industry in Russia. By V. P. Miliutin, of the Supreme Economic Council. The Communist Party. 36 pp. One Shilling.)

At the present moment, when the full force of reaction is once more brought to bear upon Soviet Russia, everyone should buy and study this booklet. It is not easy reading. It requires concentration of mind. It may, at times, be tedious even, if one is not inclined to serious study. On the other hand, the enormous task of economic reconstruction is here clearly indicated and explained. The crime of bringing once more to peaceful Soviet Russia the scourge of warfare will become more apparent after reading the book.

RUSSIA TO-DAY.

(A survey of facts and figures to all British Trade Unionists. The Communist Party. 16 pp. 2d.)

A useful little publication, full of well arranged facts, that will greatly assist open-air speakers. It gives a list of Russian measures translated into the British equivalents.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS.

(By Zelda Kahan. Coates. The Communist Party. 52 pp. No price given.)

A book which fills a gap we felt existed in the British Socialist literature. Too often we have heard people speaking of Marx's great work in the field of sociology who failed to appreciate the contribution of Engels to that science, and the influence he had on Marx's mind.

Engels's best known book, "The origin of the Family, of Private Property, and the State," is still a standard production, in spite of the fact that modern research has cast new light both on pre-historic society and on the Greco-Roman family relations. The rising of the State is probably not such a simple phenomenon as Engels imagined: yet the main tendency of his book has stood the test.

The book under review, produced by the Carmelite Press, is in the usual good style of that house.

WHAT ARE A FEW CHURCHILLS——?

(The Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2. 16 pp. 2d.)

Malone's defence of his memorable speech at the Albert Hall, delivered at the London Sessions on his appeal against a sentence of six months. The Introduction states that Mr. Paul Dukes, the British agent who arranged the counter-revolutionary efforts of Denikin and Yudenitch, was rewarded with a knighthood.

STATUTES AND CONDITIONS OF AFFILIATION TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Communist Party of Great Britain. 12 pp. 2d.)

These are the well-known twenty-one points that caused so much discussion at the recent German, French and Italian Socialist congresses. The Italian Socialist Press has mentioned several times that a point 22—voted as an isolated resolution—had been added, denying entrance to the Third International to Freemasons. We have not yet seen mention of this in the English Press.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

(By A. Shadwell, M.A. Reprinted from *The Times*. Grant Richards, Ltd., 8, St. Martin's Street, London, W.C. 2. 62 pp. One Shilling.)

W. A. Appleton, who writes the preface, gives the tone of this booklet when he states: "In the 'Democrat' I have for two years sought to steady not merely my own class but also the classes who control wealth and govern Britain."

A passage of this book, concerning the "Workers' Dreadnought," was quoted by us when the articles, now here collected in book form, first appeared in *The Times*.

This is not a book for propaganda. It gives the point of view of an intelligent employer of labour. Note the sophistry: "Provided that wages are earned, the higher they are the better," says the author in his concluding remarks. In other words, the higher the production per head—and the consequent capitalist exploitation—the greater are the profits for the capitalists.

There is nothing new in the publication for Comrades in the movement: middle-class persons and those who speak of workers in a distant manner may nevertheless learn that it is possible to look at the various forms of labour agitation without going into hysterics.

In spite of this, however, it is a sad reflection that the Secretary of the General Federation of Trades Unions, Mr. W. A. Appleton, should be so outside the Labour movement to be driven to write prefaces for *The Times*' articles.

THE OVERTHROW OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

The King's speech at the opening of Parliament, had promised trade with Soviet Russia. The King's voice is feeble when compared with the all-powerful one of Capital. The forces of reaction and of the big financial interests, have combined in one solid block, and aim at the overthrow of Soviet Russia.

Behind General Koslowsky, the official leader of the futile revolt against Soviet Russia, there is the arch-intriguer, Kerensky.

Behind Kerensky there is the intriguing of Paris, now one of the most powerful centres of reaction, and the capitalist interests which are using the deluded Social Revolutionaries as catspaws.

The destruction of Soviet rule means the restoration of private property, of individual trading. It means the enslavement of the people of Russia to the Western bond-holders, who lent money to the bloody Czar, and the further enslavement of the Western proletariat to their already too-powerful masters.

It means a reign of "White" Terror over one of the largest portions of the human race.

It means that the Torch of Freedom will be extinguished, and not rekindled for many years to come.

Towards Russia, two policies are conducted at the same time, by the Capitalist Governments of Europe: A temporising one, that would avoid open conflict and would trade with Russia, and keeps Krassin waiting; and an openly brutal one that has recourse to armed intervention and secret plotting. This seems again to be gaining ground and obscuring better counsel.

Now the conflict is open once more in its crudest form, there can only be one final result: the defeat of all the reactionary attempts and the complete victory of Soviet Russia.

The mind revolts at the thought that it could be otherwise.

In spite of recurring crises—due to the great disorganisation brought about by the corrupt Czarist Government and the years of war—Soviet Russia, having disarmed, was settling down to a laborious work of social and economic reconstruction.

To laborious Russia, there now comes Kerensky's perfidious stab in the back. A coup that was cunningly timed to coincide with the holding of the London Conference and the anticipated refusal of the German proposals.

The masses of France and of Germany, having their attention fully occupied with their internal affairs, it was thought, would hardly give any attention to the assault upon Soviet Russia, still less be capable of taking a united action in defence of their Russian brothers.

The perfidy of this plot needs no further exposure. It not only aimed a mortal blow at an established *régime*, it also speculated upon a revival of racial hatred and cheap warlike ardour.

The plot will fail. A military *coup d'état* could overthrow a tottering, corrupt Government, the Government of the Czar, already defeated on the field of battle. It cannot overthrow a *régime* that presents the only possible solution to the many difficulties that confront Russia. It cannot overthrow a *régime* that, through the Soviets, has solved the problem of popular equitable representation and shown the way to the future.

A military *coup d'état*, financed from abroad cannot overthrow such a *régime*, even if the Western proletariat, as before, should only give lip service and ineffective support.

Long live Soviet Russia!

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

You may imagine, Henry, that it is stiff working to have to draw your belt in tighter and after paying the landlord out of your One Fisher dole, trying the 'fluence on the grocer for a little more credit. But for real hard graft, it's hey for our industrious up-at-tens.

Think of having to get up at ten and going through the "Court Hairdresser," the "Beauty Specialist," the "Masseuse," and the lady's maid. And then with Fido wrapped in his fur coat and buttoned up comfy, it is "The Casino, James!" or maybe the Promenade des Anglais.

And when the wind blows keen and you feel the loss of that vest you lent to Uncle, think of the snow in St. Moritz or any other Alpine place, and all the woollen things you have to shove on before you are ready for the bob-sleigh or the skis.

And often as not an item like this:—

> "Monkey Married in White Satin. American Society Folk attend a quaint Ceremony. A romance of the jungle."

Now, supposing you were best man, think of the endless trouble you'd have, including the usual hunt for the ring, which is in your waistcoat pocket after all.

It is painfully true that one half the world doesn't know how the other half works in hard graft. What about this little bit of increased production:—

> "Paris has been left breathless by an orgy of voluptuousness within a stone's throw of the Arc de Triomphe. The scene was a mansion and the actors were foreigners who had made war fortunes in oil and a bevy of beautiful women. . . . The meal was a succession of extravagant dishes and the climax came when the curtains concealing a space in the middle of the oval table were drawn aside and revealed. . . . "

An Unemployed procession? No, Henry. That were indeed entertainment enough perhaps. And maybe some good, kind-hearted person might have invited them to go and gorge themselves on rich sultana (now 2d. per pound cheaper) since they had no bread. But it is such a fag having to worry about the unemployed, who belong to the working class, which, according to a learned magistrate, is always robbing the employers who find clothes and food for them by giving them a job.

What the curtains revealed was this:

> ". . . . a bathing pool fed by FOUNTAINS FROM WHICH GUSHED CHAMPAGNE, IN WHICH TWO BEAUTIFUL GIRLS WERE SWIMMING."

You may guess, Henry, what a lot of hard thinking and hard graft was involved before the fountains were made to gush. And *such* a job choosing the two beautiful girls so that their hair should match the champagne perfectly. And—supposing the champagne had refused to gush, but merely fizzed!

But read on:

> "Before the revels were completed the whole of the women guests had joined the bathers."

It is not for nothing that Paris is known as the highest intellectual centre of the universe, the temple of Art and the home of beautiful women, for whom the brave poilus bathed the fort of Verdun—not in champagne, but in blood! Fortunate for the world that Brave Paris was saved from the horrible clutches of the barbaric Huns.

Of course such things do not happen in England, you say. We are not so heathenish. Or is it perhaps that our Press is more discreet about the champagne fountains at home?

At any rate, you know the remedy for your troubles, Henry. Why walk the streets with a collecting box rattling hollowishly with the bones of men fallen on the fields of Flanders? You can easily get out of it, and have your name in the papers. Just buy some oil shares and be a magnate.

The Paris correspondent tells us that the actors in the pretty champagne scene were "foreigners," that is to say, people coming from outside France, say from London. And being a foreigner to the French, you see you have already one qualification for being an oil fortuneer. Then may the bevy of beautiful women be thine, and streams of champagne gush forth.

But let's hope the paper names no names.

Last week a big new steamer was to have been launched at Flensborg, Schleswig-Holstein, with patriotic demonstrations, but the *workers* and *school children* made the proceedings impossible. This ought to strengthen the workers' determination to wield their power and the Communists to carry on propaganda amongst the children.

A MEETING of the POPLAR BRANCH of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN will take place on the 14th inst. at 361, East India Dock Road, at 7.30 p.m.

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

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